assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known, however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

/296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever. It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger of his right hand and breathes his last.

The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use. The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side with the face turned in the direction of Mecca,

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

766 Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

Chapter XI

Death. Burial. Graves

If death ("tamettant" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵜⵜⴰⵏⵜ) takes place near an 764
"ar'erem" (village), burial is carried out at the cemetery. Otherwise, the deceased is buried where he died.

The corpse is washed with warm water, according to Moslem custom, and dressed in his shroud "tifit" ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵜ . Tolbas come to say the prayers of the dead. The grave "az'-ekka" ⴰⵣⵄⴰⵇⵇⴰ , plural "iz'ekouan" ⵉⵣⵄⴰⵇⵇⴰⵏ , is dug. The pit /23/ is one span and four fingers wide for, as among all Moslems, the corpse is laid on the right side, the face turned toward "kiblah" (the direction of Mecca). The depth is only 60 to 70 centimeters. It is covered with flat stones cemented with wet clay. They place markers ("chouahed" in Arabic, "ihalissen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵉⵙⵙⴻⵏ in Tamashek), that is, stones set on end: one at the head, one at the feet if it is a man; one at the head, two at the feet if it is a woman, parallel or perpendicular to the direction of the grave according to whether it is a man or a woman.

Then a circle of stones is made around the grave, with an opening for entry and exit, and to the east, opposite the door, is the place of prayer, according to the following plan. a

The expression of condolence used is the following: "iha [576]
ner' irah yalla ierhak, " which corresponds to the Arabic وعافيك
والله يخلف علينا and which means, "May God repay the loss which you and we have suffered."

The visitor goes around the grave saying, "kel irkhem [798]
yalla (May God grant you mercy!), " says his prayer and leaves.

A funeral feast is given for the tolbas and the poor. /24/

a [see A20 --- ANALYST]

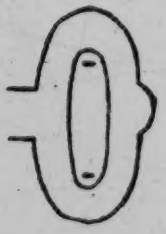
Chapter XII

Mourning

Mourning, "oudhouf" ⵄⴷⵀⴼ , does not have 765 any very outstanding features for a man.

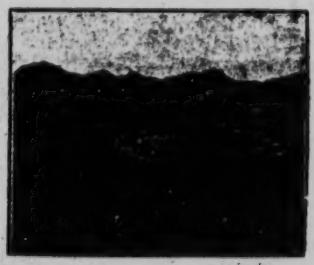
In general a man must stay shut in his tent for three days.

The widow goes into mourning and remains in mourning for four months and ten days. She must hide her hair [302] with a black veil and not comb it for the duration of her mourning; enclose her feet in high footgear instead of the usual sandals; withdraw her hands from view or show only their tips. In short, as in "Miss Helyett":



Plan

[764]



Dautheville
Tuareg Grave in the
Teddeqqirt Wadi (Immidir)

To show none of those charms
Which would give arms
To the wicked liar.

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves
to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and
secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is
also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion
to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says
of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they
betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called
Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes
where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes
to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not
cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maâlem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of
a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of
starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells, and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

Chapter XII

Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
312

241 Usually, there are six khammès per field, and each of
312 them has a right to water for one night and one day. The water, brought from the foggara, spreads into the "madjens," or reservoirs, as on the oases, there to be divided among the gardens by means of saguias, or irrigation canals.

6764]

Herhafok Region

In the Left Foreground an Ancient
Grave in the Chouchat Form
(Koudia)

241 The khammès receives as his pay:

1. A fifth of the crop
2. The barley which he sowed in the irrigation canals
3. A load of wheat in winter and a half load in summer, for his personal consumption.

245 In the Ahaggar there are also small oases of palms which were planted by no one knows whom, for example, at Tibedjehine and at Silet (Ahaggar), at Djor'raf, Tafarakrak, and Teguift (Immidir). The Tuareg who own them leave them [423] untended and are satisfied to go and gather the dates when they choose. These palms, which get no care, also have a great mass of dry djerids hanging to the ground, which makes it very difficult to climb them. Perhaps this is to prevent theft of the dates? /76/

From the fact that these palms, even though not cared for, produce dates which, if not of good quality, are still quite

Chapter XIII

Ancient Graves. Upright Stones

Ancient graves. Almost everywhere, in the Ahnet, Adhar', Ahaggar, Immidir, and even on the banks of the wadis that cross Tanezrouft, are found many ancient graves shaped either like a truncated cone, or "chouchat," or like a little turret, or "bazina," like those found everywhere in North Africa. 172 764

I saw one, however, at Tamanrasset (right next to the grave of the Tamenokalt Taber'ourt oult Akhalakham of the Imanan) which had a special shape. It was a pile of stones in the shape of a rectangular parallelepiped, four meters long by one meter wide, and one meter high.

The Tuareg say that these graves, which they call "adebni," plural "idebnane" (a word which seems to be derived from the Arab word "beni," building), are those of the "Izabbaren" ⵉⵣⴰⴱⴱⴰⵔⴻⵏ. Then, too, this word in Tamashek means "ogres" and in the singular is "zabbar" ⴰⵣⴰⴱⴱⴰⵔ, "ogre." The Ahaggar and the Taïtoq refuse to admit that these were perhaps their ancestors at the time of paganism who had graves of this kind. "The Izabbaren," they say, "have nothing in common with us. They are not our ancestors." It was for this reason that Professor Gautier could explore some of these graves without opposition on their part. 172 173 764 [192]

Meanwhile, there is also another kind of grave which still has a circular shape but with the "chouahed," or markers, customary with all Moslems, while the "chouchat," or "bazina," graves are without them. This kind of grave is more unusual. It seems to be a form intermediary between the "Izabbaren" graves and the present graves. 172 764

On the other hand, the Tuareg will show you the grave of Tin /78/ Hinane, the ancestress from whom they claim to be descended, which is located at the junction of the Tefirt wadi 172 173 764

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the "chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine (probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

837 /146 cont./ the husband deceives his wife, and if this happens it is far from her when, departed for the Sudan, he remains absent a long time. The Tuareg woman is faithful; those who take a lover are rare. If a husband knew his wife to be unfaithful, simply by hearsay, he could repudiate her, but in the case of flagrante delicto he could kill the guilty pair, or he [684] could bring the case to the attention of the amenokal, who would impose a fine. The deceived wife may leave her husband; in this case she returns to her family, taking her [586] belongings with her. Divorces are rather rare and very ill thought of.

761 Death is not regarded with terror, a whole framework of beliefs strongly colored with Islamism promise the Targui 775 future recompense in the other world. It /147/ seems that charity will be particularly rewarded and selfishness severely punished; the punishments described would be similar to the offense. Extensive investigations would be necessary to sift out all the beliefs concerning death; to distinguish between what is Moslem and what is properly Tuareg would prove to be very difficult.

764 When a death occurs in the tent, each member of the family maintains an attitude of what appears to be very great dignity to our Western eyes. Certainly, it happens that some people cry over the deceased, which is human, but custom would have the tears held back; a man, particularly, would know how to control himself sufficiently not to show his grief.

The body does not remain in the tent long; the women wash it if it is that of a woman; the men wash it in the other case. It is perfumed; its members are laid out in an attitude of rest; then it is wrapped in a shroud (tifit), which is sewed up. During these operations, the tomb has been dug following the Moslem custom. Only men escort the corpse to the grave. After having buried it in the tomb and covered it with earth, they put up stones to mark the place, and each man returns to his tent. There is neither song nor prayer.

764 /147 cont./ A meal is served to those present at the expense of the deceased according to the instructions he has given before his death. If his wishes were not carried out, the livestock earmarked for the occasion would perish.

763 It is said that he who dies in a position of rest, his arms relaxed, his face serene, was a good man and has every chance of being rewarded. On the other hand, he who expires all curled up and with his fists clenched against his face was a bad man; even if he hid his faults during his lifetime, he is doomed to future woes.

428 The rules of inheritance are poorly known by the Tuareg; only the old know the customs, for to a greater and greater degree the tolbas introduce Moslem law.

When a man dies, one eighth of his property goes to his wife, the rest to his children. If there are no children, a /148/ third is for his wife, with the rest going to his family, part to his parents, part to his brothers and sisters. When the wife dies first, all of her property goes to her children if she has any; if she has none, half goes to her family and the other half to her husband. The property of a deceased person without heirs, a rare condition, are administered by the tribe's amrar for the benefit of the collectivity.

By an oral will made before two witnesses, a man may leave no more than a third of his fortune to an heir not designated by custom.

000 This description of a Targui's life from infancy to death provides merely a glimpse of the customs of a part of the population of the Ahaggar, the part that commands, the part that seems most attractive to the traveler, to the tourist; but one must think of the humble ones, of the harratin cultivators of the agricultural centers, of the Tuareg's black servants, their former slaves. The collecting of their traditions, which are grafted on the framework of Tuareg customs, should be a work apart, for a serious study of the Blacks cannot be

7:Ni[illegible]en E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

173 634 *Sabenas*, the ancestress of the noble *Kel Ferwan* and the first ruler of the drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

Amenukal, the eldest son of *Sabenas*.

Mokhammed Aman, the younger brother of *Amenukal*.

Elkarebi, the younger brother of *Mokhammed Aman*.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:—

Bubeker, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe.

Rali, who was the younger brother of *Bubeker*. He was the reigning drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years. He was considered a very skilful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group with profound respect. *Rali*'s tomb is south of the Massif, somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. 634 On *Rali*'s death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in 769 which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. Ancestral worship of this type is most probably not a traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. It should be noted in this context that *Rali* was considered a member of the *Echcherifen*, the descendants of the Prophet, through relationship to the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393 ff.).

173 634 *Mokhammed*, who belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* through his mother, while his father came from the *Iforas*. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was not a close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief *Rali*.

Wanarli, who had no bonds of kinship with the *Kel Ferwan*. His father belonged to the religious, and, in Tuareg opinion, very holy tribe of *Kel es Suk*. He was very strict with the vassals of his drum-group, and he would never take his food in their company, though other drum-chiefs seem to have been less severe. It is probably for this very reason that he was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

Afanu, who belonged to the *Echchikhen*. He died after one year's reign.

Kutiya, who was of noble *Kel Ferwan* stock, being the son of *Rali*'s younger brother.

Agg-Elkhir, of pure noble origin being the son of *Rali*'s daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected.

Azeror, who was the son of *Rali*.

634 *Agg-Elkhir*, in his second period of reign. He was the reigning drum-chief during my stay in Ayr 1955. He was then very old, and the French considered his son *Khejji* the actual representative of the drum-group.

Bukha, who is the newly-elected drum-chief. He is the son of *Azeror* and the grand-son of the renowned chief *Rali*, who was the mother's brother of the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir*. Consequently *Bukha* is a classificatory sister's son of *Agg-Elkhir* (cf. p. 451, Fig. 294). Before the election took place very many Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group had wanted the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir* to be succeeded by his son *Khejji*. On the day of election, when all adult men of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group came